The principal crops of the Kuwandwa area, in the order of their importance, are tobacco, wheat, rice, and millet. Tobacco and rice require a more complex regimen, the former cultivated by hand and steel matlock and the latter transplanted into small, flooded plots. Wheat fields are more easily prepared by a light wooden plough drawn by oxen, and the grain is harvested with short, curved sickles of steel. Threshing consists in driving oxen around and around over the harvested sheaves, spread on a selected floor, until they are broken up, and separating grain and chaff in the wind with wooden forks. Because tobacco has a greater market value, it comes to be planted in increasing quantity, and wheat production has suffered correspondingly. Today both wheat and rice must be imported into the area, and millet is only a marginal crop. Every village devotes a certain amount of land and orchard to the production of vegetables and fruits, almost always irrigated. The former include beans, cucumbers, egg-plants, garlic, lentils, onions, tomatoes, and vegetable marrow, and the latter, apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, melons, pears, plums, and pomegranates. Almonds, gall nuts, and walnuts are important for retail, and are exported from the district. A red wine and arrack (a clear distillate of fermented grapes, flavored with gum arabic or anise) are fabricated by the Nesterians and, insofar as they are not consumed at home, are illegally sold about the district. Apiculture is a specialty of certain villages, and the beehives are transported among favored locations in mountain

Fig. 1 View from a house of the mountains of Kurdistan

The arable land and fields

311 condition the siting of the villages. Some steep hillsides (5 a 10% or 10 degrees) support the forest
341 cover of gentle. Watercourses and springs are clustered to form basins for the drinking of water and
for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and tobacco. In digging
these canals mattocks (E. 244) and iron ploughs[1], are used. The latter are worked by two men. The
iron plough was seen in use down by the Lower Zab on the terraced river fields. Around the villages
of Topzawa and Kalawa grow poplars, walnut trees, a few mulberry and fig trees. The hill sides have
occasional groves of low oak. Above these villages lie the vineyards, the crop of which is used for
● 245 most and dried to raisins. Around the villages of Bargalu, Bellbo and Tawella, which have ample
water, are big fruit plantations with plums, apricots and mulberries. The domestic animals are hens
231 and cows, yak, fat-tailed sheep, brown and black goats, dogs, donkeys, fish, and snakes, lizards, with
ducks, fowls and geese. Horses, only, are kept as a luxury and ridden with a curb bit[2]. There are also
big, yellow sheep dogs and fat breeding (white pig and boar) Persian greyhounds[3]. At 5 a.m. the cows
233 are driven out of the village from the individual houses by children and old women. During the day
the animals grazing on the slopes are guarded by young men. At 6-7 p.m. the animals are driven back

CHAPTER III

# MATERIAL SURROUNDINGS

These forms of dwellings are found in Kurdistan, the one comparable, the two others dominant. 342

The comparable form is the black tent, *reshaff*, the easily moved dwelling of the Kurdish nomad, dealt with in detail by Edelberg[1] and not included in my investigations, which only describe settled forms of residence as well as of life.

The two variants of the stationary form are the leaf hut, *kāpān*, only erected for a single summer's habitation, and the permanent house, *shkō* or *mall*. Leaf huts are put up around the villages of Tergawar and Rekawn at the beginning of June when the summer, *hāwīn*, really begins. They are erected on the *shaliān*'s harvested wheat fields and on shelves in the hills a little above the village which, as mentioned earlier, project from the hillside in terraces. The framework of the leaf hut consists of 4, 6 or 8 poplar trunks a good 2 metres in height, which at the top converge in a fork. The number depends upon the projected size of the building. The hut has a rectangular ground plan and only one room. The forked trunks are placed in the ground, and supported by stones rank around them. Resting on the forks, two straight poplar trunks or beams on the vertical ones are placed horizontally. Above this are laid thinner transverse sticks that carry a layer of twigs on top of which is laid a very thin layer of branches to which the leaves are attached. To have the walls also extend reaching from the ground to the roof are small laid the ends in between these leafy twigs are threaded, an opening being left for the door. This door opening can face north, south or east, but it does not seem that there is any fixed tradition in this respect. Instead of plaited twigs ready-made mats can be used for the walls[2], but these are not very solid, particularly in the event of dust storms. (On June 7th several finished or half-finished leaf huts were blown down in these two villages). The huts do not have flooring or anything of that sort. They are put up by the men and serve as summer dwellings for the village families whose permanent homes, on account of position or size, cannot provide the coolness afforded in the hot season by a larger home. [343]

It is said that in the trading centre of Tsmelle, higher up in the mountains near the frontier of Iran, 346
whole families move out to the fruit plantations, "the gardens", because of the work there, but I had 321
no opportunity to investigate the form of dwelling they build there. They mentioned that "in Shaqlawa 345
booths are erected in the fruit gardens"[3], but does not further describe them.

The permanent house is built of various materials, but is everywhere cubical in shape, with a flat 342
clay roof borne by poplar trunks (as opposed to the gabled roof of the Turks). In the mountains 354
near the Iranian frontier where there is no lack of natural stone, later, the walls of the houses are built

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 23 -- Analysis]

000 wheat sports, a summer haven from the heat of the plains, and other things on which people spend their annual savings.

439 277 Tobacco is the only important export of Kurdistan. It has not been scientifically cultivated to such an extent that it can compete with sources outside Iraq. The government experimental farm near Sulaimaniya is, however, carrying out valuable research work in the improvement of Kurdish agriculture, especially the production of tobacco. At present Kurdish tobacco is bought, from the villagers who grow it, by 'dags' of merchants in the towns, and sent to factories in Baghdad to be made up into cigarettes. Owing to the low price at which they are offered Iraqi cigarettes find a ready sale throughout Iraq, but unfortunately little of the profits reach the grower.

• 295 Another potential source of revenue in Kurdistan is the fruit-growing industry, which so far has been quite neglected except for local consumption. When one leaves the lowlands and the motor roads, and rides on horseback along the narrow mountain tracks which the lowlanders never use, one is delighted with grape-vines green the eye, and in the valleys the water of gushing springs flows under the shade of leafy mulberry and walnut trees. Apples, pears, pomegranates, figs and other fruits are abundant with no scientific cultivation, and much of them is wasted.

[273] Were Sulaimaniya provided with transport, and up-to-date machinery for producing wine installed in Sulaimaniya, an industry might be started which would one day rival that of France or the Rhine. I have sometimes spoken with rich Kurdish aghas in their highland villages, whose wealth was only evident in their voluminous waistbands and large guest-houses with numbers of armed retainers waiting to do their bidding. When asked why they do not develop their resources, a lack of imagination becomes apparent—"Our fathers grew tobacco, and we are manag-

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